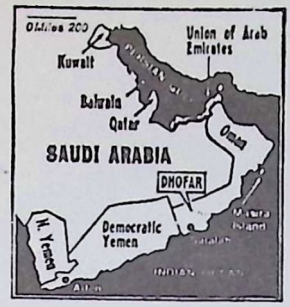
# THE NIXON DOCTRINE




(EDITORS' NOTE: The following is a condensed and adapted version of a vital article that appeared in The Gulf Solidarity, February-March, 1973---which is published by the Support Committee for the Liberation Movement in the Gulf, c/o P.O. Box 16348, San Francisco, California, 94116. For copies of the original article, which we strongly recommend, inquiries can be made to the Support Committee at the above address. The February-March issue of The Gulf Solidarity costs fifty cents.
Portions of the article have been updated with inclusion of recent news items, particularly on new U.S. arms shipments to the Gulf region. Part II of "The Nixon Doctrine & the Imperialist Strategy in the Arabian Gulf" will be published in the next issue of Resistance.)

With the slow-down of direct armed involvement by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, and with the creation of the "energy crisis", great attention has been focused lately on the Middle East and in particular the Arabian Gulf. This area is one of the most disturbing "trouble spots" in the world because the stakes to imperialism are so high. "Impressed anew with the importance of the Gulf region," Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco explained that "The American interest in the Gulf tends to be characterized in terms of oil. Undoubtedly the United States has major strategic and economic interests in the Gulf states...From these interests and our long-standing good relations with the peoples of the Gulf derives an American interest in orderly political development there and regional cooperation to assure the tranquility and progress of the area." It is precisely the fact that the economic and strategic interests are so vitally important to the imperialists and that, at the same time, the entire Middle East is so unbearably unstable and undependable politically which is making Nixon and company tremble in their boots. Nixon verbalized his anxiety when he described the area as combining "intense local conflict with great power involvement". He then made the rather significant statement that this is "all the more dangerous because the outside powers' interests are greater than their control."

## What Led to the Nixon Doctrine?

The imperialist nations emerged from World War II on the whole weak, disorganized or collapsed as in the case of Japan, Germany and Italy. The change in the balance of power had not yet been consolidated. Thus the alliances of many imperialist countries with their puppet regimes were undecided or in transition, thereby undependable. The exception was the U.S. which was unscathed and in fact economically stimulated by the war. It also enjoyed a monopoly over nuclear weapons and a superiority in conventional weapons. Therefore, the U.S. emerged as the undisputed leader of the"free world", a position of responsibility both eagerly assumed by the U.S. and imposed on it by the above conditions. At the same time, the U.S. was facing both a united and growing socialist bloc, as well as expanding national liberation struggles. The socialist camp had expanded with the victory of the revolution in China. Revolution had become the main trend, presenting a direct threat to imperialism's vital needs. In view of its newly acquired responsibility and in face of the rising wave of people's struggle, the U.S. imperialists formulated their global strategy of isolating and containing the socialist bloc in general and the Soviet Union in particular. "They believed they could easily attack the Soviet Union which had suffered tremendous destruction by the war and which did not possess the atomic weapons as yet." (Vietnamese Studies #26) U.S. policy vis-a-vis the third world countries was thus determined in terms of its global strategy which was itself defined mainly by Washington's fear of the bastion of world revolution, the socialist camp.

But the post World War II period has ended and changes have reshaped the international situation. It was clear to Nixon when he was elected in 1968 that U.S. imperialism could no longer afford economically or politically to remain the policeman of the "free world." He was forced to adopt a neo-colonial policy which he formulated into the Nixon Doctrine in 1970. In this doctrine he outlined three ingredients of "peace"--partnership, strength and negotiation. The concept of partnership clearly evolved from the new world situation. It is directed at both the imperialist countries and the puppet allies. To the imperialist countries Nixon was saying that the U.S. is no longer willing to bear the burden of protecting them and moreover the U.S. expects them to bear part of the responsibility for "keeping the world free from communism". To the puppet allies, Nixon was saying that we realize that you are threatened from within your countries, however we are not willing to repeat our ghastly Vietnam experience. Therefore we will provide you with all the military aid and training you need, but you will have to carry out the fight yourselves.

The concept of strength is nothing new. It simply means that the U.S. must continue to maintain and develop its own technological and military superiority so as not to be superseded by any other power.

The concept of negotiation is the new guideline for U.S. imperialism to follow in dealing with the socialist countries. The U.S. now had to reckon with them since it had failed so miserably in its policy of isolation of the socialist bloc and since the socialist countries had consolidated themselves and become powerful forces. In this way, the U.S. was forced to re-evaluate its former policy of blackmail and enter into a period of dialogue, avoiding a direct confrontation which would be much too costly.

## The Importance of the Gulf

There are a number of reasons why Nixon and his friends should be interested in the Gulf, and these can be cat-

egorized into three areas--economic, strategic, and the changes taking place there.

The most obvious economic factor, of course, is oil. The growing dependence of the imperialist countries on oil as their main source of energy and on oil by-products for the new chemical and petro-chemical industries is becoming an increasingly publicized issue. The importance of the Middle East, particularly the Gulf, as the prime supplier of this oil has increased proportionately to the growing oil need.

At present, Western Europe relies on the Gulf--mostly through U.S. monopolies--for 75% of its oil, and likewise Japan for 90%. India, Pakistan, Israel and Australia and New Zealand are similarly dependent. Even the U.S. itself which has up to now been able to rely on its own resources will import 55% of its oil from the Gulf by the end of the '80s. Since the Gulf is abundant in oil, which is 30 times cheaper to produce than Texan or Alaskan oil, the revenues have made a substantial contribution to the economies of the U.S. and Britain.

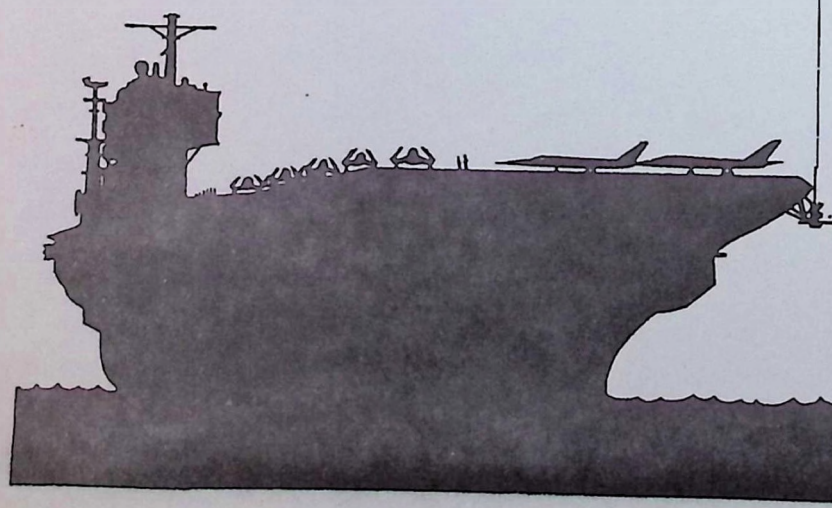
Aside from the oil interests, the Gulf as an area which has been developing, in Sisco's words,"from poverty to a number of areas of affluence," offers a vast untapped market for dumping U.S. goods.

In particular, the U.S. has two economic markets in mind--a commercial one and a military one. Already, Saudi supermarkets abound with U.S.-made goods, and the smaller Gulf states are the newest targets for the deodorants, hair sprays and Monopoly game sets. On the military side, there has been a flood of recent announcements of Gulf state purchases of sophisticated ultra-weapons from the U.S. and its allies. In February '73, there was the nearly $3 billion defense contract arranged by the Pentagon with Iran that led to widespread rioting in that country. "Both Defense and State Department officials emphasized that...the deal was entered into because it will be highly profitable to the U.S. in helping American arms manufacturers caught in a post-Vietnam slump in orders...." (N.Y.Times, Feb.23) And since then there have been announcements of billion dollar "military modernization program" for "Saudi" Arabia with the U.S. offering 24 to 30 F-4 Phantoms, and now a half-billion dollar package, again including F-4s, for Kuwait.



In making these sales, U.S. officials have s... "experience had shown that particularly in de... ing countries, the military played a major rol... policy and that it was to the U.S.' advantage t... influence with the policy makers...Another reaso... (for pushing the sales) is that with the decline ... arms for the Vietnam war, American producers need ... new markets..." (N.Y.Times, June 8, 1973) Most recen... ly the military journal Aviation Week and Space Tech... nology has said that the U.S. would be making avail... able on a near-emergency basis (within 6 months) some 50 F-8 H/K jet fighters to Kuwait. These would be flown,"at least initially, by 'resigned' U.S. Navy and Marine pilots...and would give the country an instant air defense capability." (Aviation Week itself put"resigned" in quotation marks.) The same Aviation Week article reported that "a U.S. Defense Dept. team had surveyed Kuwait's needs in February, 1972, with a goal of determining what equipment the nation might need to develop a force capable of fighting a holding action 'for a few days, until help could arrive' according to Sisco." The article blamed the "Saudi" Arabian "needs" for arms on"a border clash with South Yemeni forces in late March in which the South Yemenis were supported by Soviet-built Mig fighters..." Significantly, the article also reported that "Israeli reaction opposed the sale of Phantoms to the two Arab states, but informally the Israelis said they were not 'making a big thing' about it." (Aviation Week June 11, 1973) Also of significance is that Egypt has been cooperating with the "Saudis" in the decisions on what arms to buy.

A further economic interest of the U.S in the Gulf is, in Sisco's words, "wealth providing surplus capital for investment abroad and economic development throughout the world." Translated, this means two things: 1)the extra profits from oil production can be used for investments in other areas of the world besides the Gulf. 2)The share of the profit given to the Gulf states can be put into Western banks or invested in stock by those states. Given the immensity of the profit drawn from Gulf oil, both of these possibilities are highly enticing to the imperialists.



## women in the middle east

**Interviews and Essays written by women include material on revolutionary struggles being waged in the Middle East. The economic and social role of women within Middle Eastern society is well analysed.**
**Send 50 cents, C/O P.O. Box 134, West Newton Mass. 02156 for Women in the Middle East pamphlet.**

# IXON DOCTRINE

NOTE: MUCH OF WHAT FOLLOWS IS ADAPTED FROM THE GULF SOLIDARITY, FEBRUARY-MARCH 1973 BY THE SUPPORT COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE GULF, C/O P.O.B. 1634, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94116. PARTS OF THE ARTICLE HAVE BEEN UPDATED WITH THE RECEIPT OF RELEVANT NEWS ITEMS. FOR THE FULL ARTICLE, WHICH IS STRONGLY RECOMMENDED, WRITE THE SUPPORT COMMITTEE AT THE ABOVE ADDRESS. COST IS 50¢ PER ISSUE.

## PLANNING FOR BRITISH DEPARTURE

Due to the particularly unstable political situation in the Middle East and the Gulf, this region is the weak link in the series of waterways:the Mediterranean sea, the Red Sea, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean, which provide easy access to Asia, Africa and Europe. Both oil and access to the raw materials, cheap labor and vast markets of Asia and Africa,which form the lifeblood of imperialism,are threatened here. Were the people's struggles here to be victorious, it would be ideally located as a revolutionary base to aid struggles in Asia and Africa. Therefore, U.S. imperialism's efforts to stop the spread of national liberation struggles takes on great weight, especially in this area.

With the spread of the revolutionary movement in the Gulf (most notably Dhofar and Oman, but also Kuwait, Bahrain and Iran), with the obvious popular strength of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, with the growing Soviet presence throughout the area, and with partial departure of British military imperialism, it was clear that the political picture in the Middle East had changed enormously. This formed the third factor, along with economic and strategic ones, that caused great concern to the controlling imperialists of the U.S.

Despite the jolt it gave to the U.S., the British neo-colonial policy of military withdrawal was in keeping with the 'spirit' of the Nixon "peace through partnership" doctrine. The two imperialists made an excellent team for executing a plan consistent with the interests of the U.S. The basic principles of the U.S. policy, as outlined by Sisco, were as follows:

*"Non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations--*
*Encouragement of regional cooperation for peace and progress--*
*Supporting friendly countries in their efforts to provide for their own security and development--*
*Avoidance of confrontation in such areas of the world (with the Soviet Union)--*
*Encouraging the international exchange of goods, services and technology--"*

"Cooperation" as spoken by Sisco meant joint action between the U.S. and Britain on the one hand, and among the puppet states on the other. The U.S. would stay behind the scenes, not directly "interfering in the internal affairs" of the states but rather "encouraging them and supporting them" militarily and exploiting them economically. Britain would generally follow the same course with the exception that, unfortunately it would have to retain and perhaps even expand its military presence. Meanwhile the local reactionaries would be "regionally cooperating" against the revolution. As Sisco said so piously, "We all share an interest in an orderly, expanding market place insulated insofar as possible from ideologically motivated disruptions..."

Both Iran and Saudi Arabia were given the important joint role by the U.S. of policing the Gulf region as a whole. Secondly, the U.S. agreed to Britain's plan to federate the sheikdoms, but this time with the limited objective of making them more capable of withstanding "internal subversion". And finally, there was no question that elaborate plans would have to be adopted to reverse the tide in Oman against revolution.

*"King Faisal early realized that, with the departure of the British, it would be necessary to cooperate closely with Iran to assure stability throughout the Gulf."*(J.H. Noyes, Deputy Asst. Secretary of Defense). Once told what to realize, the King and the Shah swallowed their differences and confirmed their new friendship.

And in turn, Iran's ties with Israel closed important imperialist links from Central Asia to the Mediterranean.

The second task of the U.S.-British "cooperation" was to federate Bahrain, Qatar, and the seven Trucial States. But early British efforts (1968-71) failed, and by the time the British were supposededly packing their military hardware, they had achieved only a weak and unstable federation of six sheikdoms.

Particularly because of the instability of this Federation, its protection from the internal threat of revolution was essential, and it still held excellent opportunities for economic exploitation. Responsibility for the task was divided along lines reflecting U.S.-British relations--the British were charged with the *military defending* while the U.S. would take care of the *economic developing*.

The British military effort was predicated on "defense against internal subversion". Britain is now arranging for the formation of the so-called "Allied Defense Forces of the Federation", with some 10,000 troops including Pakistanis, British, and others equipped with armored cars, troop carriers and self-moving artillery installations and commanded by British military experts. Along with these direct British programs, the idea is to make use of the Gulf's two gendarmes, Iran and Saudi Arabia, in defending the sheikdoms.

'Gotta halt those aggressors'

## THE DIRECT U.S. PRESENCE

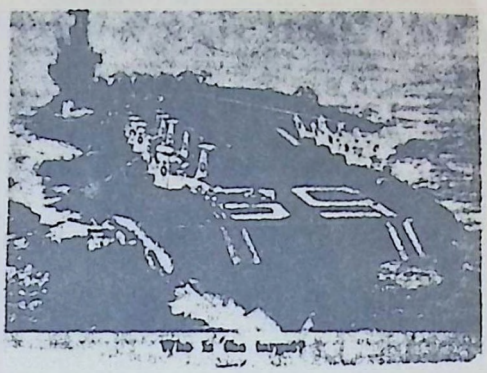
The U.S. has been expanding its diplomatic presence throughout the area, opening missions in Bahrein, the United Arab Emirates and Oman, accrediting the U.S. ambassador to Kuweit to those states and Qatar as well. "Distinguished" visitors come and go. Nixon was recently in Iran and Spiro Agnew visited Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and Secretary of State Rogers and Joseph Sisco visited Bahrain and the Arab Republic of Yemen. Furthermore, a variety of Defense Department teams, State Department study groups and intelligence operatives have been visiting(some without leaving), counting the stakes and devising the strategies.

The U.S. is also maintaining what Sisco likes to call a "small American naval contingent" in Bahrain of crucial importance to the U.S.'s strategic and intelligence needs. COMIDEASTFOR (Commander, Middle East Force) is stationed in Bahrain with responsibilities extending from Ethiopia (Kagnew Station- Eritrea) to Northwest Australia and the Indian Ocean. The base is also meant as a backup force for crushing the revolution. According to General Maxwell D. Taylor, rather than involve itself in another "prolonged" war as in Vietnam with its mortifying consequences, the U.S. new feels a need for the "ability to do little things which it may be important to do in a hurry--such as talking with our friends and giving minor help to our allies..." Apparently there are a lot of important *little things* to be done in the Gulf ,beginning at the base's home in Bahrain where a strong worker's movement has been developing. This movement has flexed its muscles many times, beginning with a huge worker's uprising which began in March 1972 when a strike at the airport spread to town, and all shops, factories and schools were closed down for four days. The movement showed its power again this year in May when the workers at the Bahrain oil refinery struck on Mayday with wide support from the masses.

## OMAN

But the most advanced of the "cancerous growths" threatening imperialism in the Gulf is in Oman where the revolution is a beacon of inspiration to all the people of the Gulf. British Brigadier John Graham commands Sultan Qabus's army and Wing Commander Hurst the air force. The British have 120 officers and 60 pilots in Oman. In fact, Oman is a model of the spirit of imperialist-puppet partnership. Through a U.S. "fishing fleet", Mardello, the CIA conducts intelligence surveillance, watching out for small ships which may be smuggling arms and spying on Soviet movements in the Indian Ocean. The U.S. also has aircraft stationed at the British airbase in Sharjah, one of five outposts in the area. Other outposts include an air base at Salala, capital of Oman; a major air base at Masirah used for troop deployment; a new base on the Omani mainland at Rass al Hadd, and a naval base at Ras al-Khaimah.

The puppets too have been hard at work in Oman. Besides appropriating the four islands of Abu Musa, Big Tunb, Little Tunb, and Um al Ghanam, to himself, the Shah has been helping Qabus with a steady flow of Iranian arms and advisors. Iran has also been pitching in with helicopters and possibly air support.Saudi Arabia, while concentrating mainly on attacking Democratic Yemen, has pledged $6 million to Qabus in addition to vast quantities of weapons. The U.S. through the CIA gave Qabus $300 million, but the powerful forces of revolution have forced the British puppet to spend 75 percent of all his oil revenues on arms. Apparently,




Saudi Arabia has joined the others in stationing forces in Oman, but to date, there has been no report of their engaging in combat. Coming in from afar, the master of all murderers, King Hussein, together with the Iranians, has been supplying pilots to Qabus in order to supplement the British fliers, along with intelligence officers, military officers, training and troops.

All of these same reactionary conspirators have joined hands in an all-out attempt to crush the base of the revolution as well. Democratic Yemen is not only threatening imperialist interests as a base for the *communist virus*, but it has also now ironically acquired a certain attraction for the imperialists. For Aramco (Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, Chevron) have recently discovered an important oil reserve in Saudi Arabia, of which the most tempting portion lies in Democratic Yemen. Yemeni spokesman, Ali Nasser has characterized the situation in this way: *"We are beseiged on all sides. To the West, the Ethiopians and their Israeli allies plot and fortify the islands close to Bab el Mandeb, entrance to the Red Sea, to the east, British warplanes use the pretext of pursuing the guerillas in the counter-revolutionaries from our own country... have found refuge with our North Yemeni brothers... and are taking part in attacks launched ceaselessly across our northern borders by tribes in the pay of Saudi Arabia..."*

But the revolutionary answer to the regional cooperation of the reactionaries is the far more powerful call to unity of all the revolutionary forces of the Gulf region. The fate of the Nixon Doctrine in the Gulf has already been foretold, not only by the heroic people of Vietnam, but already by the total incapacity of imperialism to even blunt the edge of the revolutionary sword of the people of Dhofar and by the spread of the revolutionary flames which are engulfing the entire region. As the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf has stated, it is incumbent upon all revolutionary and nationalist forces to stand together, to defend and liberate the area from neo-colonialism and to realise that the national and democratic objectives of the people, for which so many martyrs have died, must become reality. "The way to defeat imperialist maneuvers is through long, difficult and protracted struggle to develop a people's war of liberation in the area as a whole," responded Said Seif of PFLOAG. The massive arms deal and the attacks on the British and American installations; the massive opposition throughout the Gulf against the Shah's aggressive occupation of the four islands in the Straits of Hormuz; the joint communiques and statements condemning the repression issued by the struggles in Bahrein and Kuwait--all these bear witness to the growing unity of the revolution throughout the Gulf. It is the international duty of all progressive forces to actively support this revolution, to start now to focus the eyes of the world on the savage imperialist plot and to help ensure that the Nixon doctrine is dealt another devastating defeat.